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POLISH ADJECTIVES DERIVED FROM RIVER-NAMES¹

The aim of this study is to draw attention to a particular suffixal feature characteristic of Polish detoponymical adjectives derived from river-names, which in my opinion justifies a special treatment of these adjectives in a description of detoponymical derivatives in Polish. To my knowledge, this particular type of detoponymical adjective has up to now not been treated in literature on Polish word-formation, although some solitary adjectives of the type in question have been commented on or have served as examples in different works, without respect, however, to river-names and their adjectival derivatives as a specific category, e.g. *nadodrzański* and *nadwiślański* in Kowalik (1977, p. 192) and *wiślany* in Doroszewski (1970, p. 580). Most likely adjectives derived from river-names have not been considered to differ from other detoponymical adjectives from a word-formation point of view and have consequently not been looked upon as having intrinsic interest in their own right.

I have taken the main body of data for this study from *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny PWN* (1973). In this dictionary there is an ample collection of toponyms - slightly over 2000 -, denoting places inside as well as outside Poland, along with detoponymical derivatives (adjectives as well as masculine and feminine inhabitant-names), where they occur.² Another dictionary, *Słownik ortograficzny języka polskiego PWN* (1977), has served as a complementary source.

My impression is that the toponyms and derivatives contained in these dictionaries are mainly such as a Polish-speaking person with a rich vocabulary could be expected to know.

I have also taken a few examples of adjectival river-name derivatives from two other sources, viz. *Ratajski-Szewczyk-Zwoliński* (1959), a dictionary containing those forms

of toponyms from all over the world which the authors recommend for Polish usage, and *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN* (1962-70). I shall refer to the latter as *WEP*.

The presentation below of my entire corpus of river-names and their adjectival derivatives is arranged according to

- the use of simple or compound suffix,
- the form of the suffix,
- the gender of the river-name and form of its inflectional suffix in the nominative singular, and
- the geographical location of the river (wholly or partially inside or wholly outside the present borders of Poland).

Epenthetic vowels in both river-names and derivatives will be italicized in the list following.

Simple suffixes

- an* fem. *-a*:
Polish: Wisła - wiślany³
- ow* masc. *-ø*:
non-Polish: Dniepr - dniewowy⁴, Dniestr - dniestrowy⁴, Nil - nilowy, 5)
- sk* fem. *-ø*:
Polish: Noteć - notecki, Supraśl - supraski
non-Polish: Ob 6) - obski, Prypeć - prypecki
- fem. *-a*:
Polish: Bystrzyca - bystrzycki, Bzura - bzurski, Drawa - drawski, Drwęca - drwęcki, Kaczawa - kaczawski, Kłodnica - kłodnicki, Łeba - łebski, Łomnica - łomnicki, Nidzica - nidzicki, Nysa - nyski, Oława - oławski, Pasłęka - pasłęcki, Pilica - pilicki, Piława - piławski, Radunia - raduński, Soła - solski, Trzcianka - trzcianecki, Wisłoka - wiśłocki
non-Polish: Berezyna - berezyński, Drina - driński, Dwina - dwiński, Dźwina - dźwiński, Garonna - garoński, Izera - izerski, Kama - kamski, Kołyma - kołymski, Lena - leński 7), Moskwa - moskiewski, Mozela - mozelski 8), Narwa - narewski, Nawa - nawski, Oka - ocki 9), Onega - oneski, Opawa - opawski, Orawa - orawski, Ottawa - ottawski, Peczora - peczorski, Samara - samarski, Sekwana - sekwański, Wełtawa - wełtawski, Windawa - windawski

masc. -∅:

Polish: Dunajec - dunajecki, Liwiec - liwiecki, Nurzec - nurzecki, Poprad - popradzki, Prądnik - prądnicki, Prudnik - prudnicki, San - nadsański 10), Wisłok - wiśłocki

non-Polish: Amur - amurski, Don - doński, Doniec - doniecki, Drin - driński, Dunaj - dunajski, Ems - emski, Gabon - gaboński, Hudson - hudsonski, Jenisej - jenisejski, Jordan - jordański, Jukon - jukoński, Kubań - kubański, Niemen - niemeński, Niger - nigerski, Ob 6) - obski, Ren - reński, Senegal - senegalski, Ural - uralski, Urugwaj - urugwajski, Woroneż - woroneski

Compound suffixes

-ańsk fem. =∅:

Polish: Narew - narwiański

fem. -a:

Polish: Biebrza - biebrzański, Brda - brdziański, Huczwa - huczwiański, Krzna - krzniański, Nida - nidziański, Obra - obrzański, Odra - odrzański, Olza - olziański, Przemsza - przemszański, Skrwa - skrwiański, Warta - warciański, Wisła - nadwiślański 10, 11), Wkra - wkrzański

non-Polish: Cisa - nadcisański 10, 12), Wołga - wołżański

masc. -∅:

Polish: Bug - bużański, Świder - świdrzański, Wieprz - wieprzański

non-Polish: Dniepr - dnjeprzański 4), Dniestr - dniestrzański 4), Pad - padański, Tyber - tybrzański

-ijsk fem. -a:

non-Polish: Ufa - ufijski

The above data shows that *-sk* and its expansion *-ańsk* predominate in river-name derivatives in Polish, which should be seen in the light of the fact that *-sk* and its compound allomorphs (*-ańsk*, *-eńsk*, *-ijsk*, *-owsk* etc.) are with a few exceptions totally predominant in all categories of detoponymical adjectives, in other words including derivatives of names of countries, towns, lakes, mountains etc. Table 3 on p. 181

in Strutyński's work (1979) on structural models of Polish detoponymical adjectives derived from habitation-names in Poland shows that the author has found only nine adjectives formed with other suffixes than *-sk* or its compounds in his data (18472 adjectives)¹³. The predominance of *-sk* and its allomorphs is evident also from my entire corpus of toponyms and their derivatives, in which only eight out of 1600 toponyms have adjectival derivatives containing other suffixes than *-sk* or its allomorphs. It is noteworthy that four of these exceptional formations are river-name derivatives, viz. *Dniepr - dniewowy*, *Dniestr - dniestrowy*, *Nil - nilowy* and *Wisła - wiślany*. Cf. also note 5 as regards *Styks - styksowy*. As henceforth I intend to study forms ending in *-sk* and *-ańsk* only, the adjectives just mentioned and *ufijski* (from *Ufa*), being of interest merely for the sake of completeness, will be disregarded below.¹⁴

If we look at the stem structure of the river-names in the list above, we find that *-sk* is principally attached to stems ending in a vowel + one consonant (60 cases). Cases deviating from this structure are, on the one hand, *Ems*, *Garonna*, *Moskwa*, *Narwa*, *Supraśl*, *Trzcianka* (six cases) and, on the other, *Doniec*, *Dunajec*, *Liwiec*, *Niemen*, *Niger* and *Nurzec* (six cases), which have an epenthetic vowel in the nominative, but whose inflectional stems are: *dońc-*, *dunajc-*, *liwe-*, *niemn-*, *nigr-* and *nurc-*, i.e. ending in a consonant cluster. In the case of the latter and of *Moskwa*, *Narwa* and *Trzcianka*, however, a stem combinable with *-sk* is produced by means of an epenthetic vowel, resulting in *liwiec-*, *moskiew-*, *narew-*, *trzcianek-* etc. Once the consonant clusters have been eliminated, the suffix is easily attached to these word-formation bases according to morphophonological rules. The structure *vowel + one consonant* with ensuing combinability with the suffix *-sk* is also obtained by means of truncational operations as in the stems of *Ems* and *Garonna*. The truncation of *s* (or other sibilants, i.e. *z*, *sz*, *ź* -unless spelt

<rs>-, ś and ź), as in *Ems* - *emski*, and of one component of a geminate consonant like *nn* in *Garonna* - *garoński*, is a fully regular morphophonological alternation for making a stem combinable with *-sk*. The truncation of *śl* before the suffix *-sk* as in *Supraśl* - *supraski* leads to a word-formation stem ending in a vowel and thus combinable directly with the suffix *-sk*. Strutyński (p. 54) regards the simplification of toponymical stems ending in *-śl* as regular in combination with *-sk* ¹⁵.

Among river-names with *-ański*-derivatives (23 cases) on the other hand, stems ending in a consonant cluster prevail. This is not unexpected, as compound suffixes are often conditioned morphophonologically. Four examples with stems ending in a vowel + one consonant, viz. *Bug*, *Cisa*, *Nida* and *Pad*, are exceptions within this category. The formation of adjectival derivatives from *Bug* and *Nida* by means of a compound suffix (giving *bużański* and *nidziański*) might indicate a linguistic tendency to avoid homonymy, *nidzki* and *buski* with a simple suffix referring to the town of Nida and to Busko respectively ¹⁶. *Padański* (from *Pad*) is maybe a Polonization of its Latin equivalent *Padanus*, derived from *Padus* 'the river Po'. The fact that the alternation *d-dź* does not occur here may be an indication of Latin influence, though we also find a similar "un-Polish" lack of alternation before *-ański* in the case of *Cisa* - *nadcisański*, where no alternation *s-ś* occurs ¹⁷. This category includes three river-names, which have stems ending in a consonant cluster and take an epenthetic vowel in the nominative (and in the accusative, identically formed with the inflectional suffix *-o*), viz. *Narew* (stem: *narw*-¹⁸), *Świder* (stem: *świdr*-) and *Tyber* (stem: *tybr*-). As regards *Narew* - *narwiański* and *Świder* - *świdrzański*, it is to be noted that *narewski* and *świdzowski* exist as derivatives of the name of the river and the town of *Narwa* and of the habitation-names *Świder* and *Świdry*. See also note 16 above.

I think it appropriate to base my further discussion upon Strutyński's observations of the frequency and combinability of compound suffixes. As I pointed out in the foregoing, Strutyński's work concerns adjectival derivatives of habitation-names denoting places within Poland only. This fact makes his observations most useful here, as nearly all the river-name derivatives ending in *-ańsk* in my data are obviously specifically Polish forms, referring to rivers in or not very far from the Polish-speaking area from a geographical (e.g. *Dniepr* and *Wołga*) as well as a cultural (e.g. *Pań* and *Tyber*) point of view, and characterized moreover by stem alternations 'typical of Polish'.¹⁹

Turning from this discussion on the causes for the choice of either a simple suffix (*-sk*) or its compound variety (*-ańsk*) in river-name derivatives, which, however, we must in certain respects leave at the guesswork stage, I shall tackle the question what, synchronically, motivates the use of *-ańsk* - as opposed to any other compound allomorph of *-sk* - in this type of derivative. Strutyński (p. 181 table 3) ranks *-ańsk* second in frequency after *-owsk* and before *-eńsk* among the compound suffixes in his data. These suffixes, *-owsk*, *-ańsk* and *-eńsk*, occur in 7.4, 3.6 and 1.0% respectively of the adjectives in the corpus in question. If the choice of *-ańsk* in river-name derivatives were unregulated, the absence of *-owsk* would be somewhat surprising in the light of Strutyński's statistics, according to which the percentage frequency of *-owsk* is more than double that of *-ańsk*. The almost predominant occurrence of *-ańsk* in river-name derivatives seems consequently to have no connection whatever with the frequency of different compound suffixes in detoponymical adjectival derivatives in general. Nor can the predominance of *-ańsk* and absence of *-owsk* be put down to combinatorial factors. From Kowalik (pp. 189 and 192) and Strutyński (pp. 24-27) it can be seen that both suffixes are more or less equally combinable with different classes of stem endings. A close comparison would prove that, if anything, *-owsk* is easier to combine with a stem than *-ańsk*, which in many cases necessitates alternation.

Apparently, then, there is no reason to see a connection between the stem structure of river-names and the appearance of *-ańsk* - and no other compound suffix - in their derivatives, apart from the fact, of course, that the choice of a compound allomorph of *-sk* and not of the simple "primary" suffix can be conditioned by morphophonological factors.

The use of *-ańsk* in river-name derivatives seems to be related to neither the gender nor the inflectional suffixes of the river-names, since derivatives ending in *-sk* as well as those with the suffix *-ańsk* have been formed from both masculine and feminine river-names and from river-names having both *-a* and \emptyset as their inflectional suffixes in the nominative. Regarding foreign toponyms - i.e. not river-names specifically -, a connection between the word-formation suffix *-ańsk* and the inflectional suffix *-a* (nominative singular) is nevertheless implied by the *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny PWN* under the entry *-ski* (i.e. the suffix) on p. 690: "*-ański ... spotykany w wyrazach utworzonych od nazw obcych zakończonych samogłoską -a, np.: Kuba - kubański ...*". Strutyński (p. 82) sees a connection - solely concerning his model 1 (pp. 81-83), however - between *-ańsk*, *-eńsk* and *-ewsk* on one hand and the nominative inflectional suffix *-a* and *-e*, preceded by phonetically or functionally soft consonants on the other. That would imply a connection between any of these three compound suffixes and either of the two inflectional suffixes. There cannot exist such a connection in our case, however, since only a couple of the river-names here have soft stems combined with the nominative inflectional suffix *-a* (there are no instances of *-e* in my collection of river-names) and, if there were a connection between inflectional suffixes and word-formation suffixes in the case of river-names and their adjectival derivatives, we would expect river-name derivatives ending not only in *-ańsk*, but also in *-eńsk* and, possibly, *-ewsk*.

At this stage we can thus state that the choice of *-ańsk* in adjectival derivatives of river-names has no connection with

- a) the relative frequency of compound suffixes in detoponymical adjectives in general,
- b) the combinatorial qualities of this suffix,
- c) the gender of the river-name, or
- d) a particular feature of the nominative inflectional suffix together with a particular type of consonantal stem termination in these river-names.

I therefore draw the conclusion that the occurrence of *-ańsk* as the almost totally predominant compound suffix in adjectives derived from river-names is connected with the base word's semantic status as a river-name. In the same way as toponyms in Polish generally form their relative adjectives by means of the suffix *-sk* or one of many different expansions of this suffix, river-names also form relative adjectives by means of *-sk*, but if a compound suffix is chosen, this can, apart from the occasional exception (e.g. *Ufa - ufijski*), only be one of the compound varieties of *-sk*, namely *-ańsk*.²⁰

A similar, semantically conditioned quality seems to be attached to the compound suffix *-owsk* in Polish. Kowalik (p. 189) mentions that this suffix occurs in adjectives derived mainly from personal names (*Lenin - leninowski*, *Molier* or *Molière - molierowski*), from names of adherents of political movements (*faszysta - faszystowski*, *marksista - marksistowski*), and from other personal appellatives (*ojciec - ojcowski*, *skaut - skautowski*). Kowalik also mentions that *-owsk* occurs in adjectives derived from acronyms, such as *PGR - pegeerowski*, *ZMP - zetempowski* etc.

NOTES

1. This study is a translation and a revision of my paper in Swedish, entitled "Polska adjektiv, deriverade från flodnamn", presented at the 9th Congress of Scandinavian Slavists and Baltologists at Sigtuna, Sweden, 11-16 August, 1980.
2. It should be noted that the dictionary does not give any derivatives at all for about a fifth of the 2000 or more toponyms. 65 of the 145 river-names in the dictionary appear without derivatives, and will therefore henceforth not be taken into account in this study.
3. Another adjectival derivative is *nadwiślański*. Cf. note 10 below.
4. *Dniepr* and *Dniestr* form two adjectives, the poetically marked *dnieprowy* and *dniestrowy* and the neutral *dnieprzański* and *dniestrzański*.
5. The derivative *styksowy* from the mythological river-name *Styks* could also be mentioned in this connection.
6. *Ob* is of either masculine or feminine gender.
7. The derivative is taken from the *WEP*, vol. 6, p. 452, the entry *Leńskie Zagłębie Węglowe*.
8. The derivative is taken from the *WEP*, vol. 12, p. 339, the article *Wino* ("wina ... mozelskie").
9. The derivative is taken from the *WEP*, vol. 8, p. 183, the article *Oka*, "rzeka w pd." ("Jez. Ockiego").
10. Derivatives considered to be formed from prepositional phrases (such as *nadnarwiański*, *nadpilicki* etc. from *nad Narwią*, *nad Pilicą* or *znad Narwi*, *znad Pilicy*) are here mentioned solely for lack in my data of adjectives derived directly by means of the same suffix from the river-name. As a matter of fact, this only applies to three cases, viz. *Cisa* - *nadcisański*, *San* - *nadsański* and *Wisła* - *nadwiślański*.
11. The adjective *wiślany* above, however, formed with the suffix *-an*, is the direct derivative of the river-name *Wisła*, whereas *wiślański* refers to the town of Wisła.
12. The derivative is taken from the *WEP*, vol. 12, p. 216, map of Hungary ("Nizina Nadcisańska").
13. The frequency data presented here does not take into account Strutyński's use of a zero suffix in derivatives from stems ending in *-ck*, *-sk* and *-szcz*. Strutyński analyses e.g. the inflectional stem *gdańsk-* of the adjective *gdański* (from *Gdańsk*) as the toponymical word-formation stem *gdańsk-* + zero suffix, thus *gdańsk-∅*. See his work pp. 8 (footnote 17), 145-146 and 181(table 3)-182. I adopt the view, represented, for example, by Laskowski (1979), that there is a suffix *-sk* in this case, too. We must then presuppose a morphophonological rule, deleting the *sk* of the toponymical stem in a position immediately before the suffix *-sk*.

14. In Ratajski-Szewczyk-Zwoliński there are river-name derivatives forming part of toponyms, such as e.g. *Zatoka Tazowska* and *Koświński Kamień* in the Soviet Union, from which the adjectival derivatives *tazowski*, *koświński* (formed with *-owsk* and *-iński* from the river-names *Taz* and *Kośwa*) can be extracted. These derivatives have not been considered in this study, since they are evidently Polonizations of Russian derivatives. In addition, these Soviet river-names and their derivatives hardly form part of the set of toponyms and detoponymical derivatives that even verbally well-equipped Polish-speaking people employ.
15. To Strutyński, however, truncation affects only the *ł*, which results in a stem *supraś-*. To this stem, still according to Strutyński, a morphophonologically conditioned simple allomorphic form *-k-* of a suffix *-sk-//k-* is attached, causing alternation *ś-s* in the stem (pp. 22-23). I prefer to consider there to be alternation in the stem only, thus avoiding the introduction of a simple allomorph of the *-sk* in addition to the compound allomorphs. This gives a stem *supraś-* here, which can combine with the suffix *-sk* after the morphophonological alternation *ś-∅* (cf. *Ruś - ruski*, *Podlasie - podlaski*).
16. At least some 25 of the river-names in the list above are also names of towns, states etc. on or around the rivers in question. Only exceptionally has this homonymy given rise to different derivatives, as in the case referred to, i.e. *Nida* (the town) - *nidzki* and *Nida* (the river) - *nidziański*, and furthermore in the case of *Wisła* (the town) - *wiślański* and *Wisła* (the river) - *wiślany*, *nadwiślański*, commented on earlier in this study. Concerning *Świder* below it should be mentioned that my corpus of all types of toponyms shows many times more examples of homonymous detoponymical adjectival derivatives than of such derivatives as might have arisen to avoid homonymy. Thus, for example, the adjective *brzeski* is the derivative of *Brzeg*, *Brzesko* and *Brześć*. On homonymy, see Strutyński (p. 184 ff.).
17. Apart from examples with derivatives following international patterns (e.g. *Kuba - kubański*, *Ameryka - amerykański*, *Malta - maltański*), my entire corpus of toponyms and detoponymical adjectives only yields one "domestic" example of a non-occurring alternation of hard and (phonetically or functionally) soft before the suffix *-ański*, viz. *Tańty - tańtański*. Strutyński (pp. 76-79 and 89) notes a handful of examples without the hard - soft alternation in adjectives with the suffix *-ański*, derived from habitation-names in Poland.
18. In order to denote a palatalized *w*, I use here a letter *<ú>* not existing in the alphabet of modern Polish.

19. In view of this my own corpus of toponyms and their adjectival derivatives would not be as applicable in the particular case discussed here, i.e. that of river-names, firstly because the adjectives in my data are derived in almost half the cases from non-Polish (and non-Slavonic) toponyms, and hence partly follow international patterns (such as *Kambodża - kambodżański*, *Troja - trojański*), and secondly because my data contains far fewer adjectives than Strutyński's. See above p. 3 and note 2.
20. Possibly Doroszewski (p. 571) touches upon the function of *-ański* in river-name derivatives, when in the article *Elbląski* he writes: "Ale mówimy nie *wołski*, tylko *wołżański*, *nadwołżański*[:] w formie ostatniej daje zapewne znac o sobie analogia do formy *nadwiślański*, bo *Wołga* i *Wista* to rzeki, i ten moment znaczeniowy, niezależnie od różnic w budowie tematów tych wyrazów, może wpływać na tworzenie podobnych form gramatycznych."

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